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The Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20505

C/NIC Chrono

National Intelligence Council

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October 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence  
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

FROM: Fritz W. Ermarth  
National Intelligence Officer for USSR

SUBJECT: Elliot Abrams' Talking Points for US-Soviet Bilaterals

1. Attached are draft talking points prepared in State for use by Elliot Abrams in the 31 October-1 November bilateral discussions with the Soviets on Central America. Elliot sent them to me and Bob Vickers for informal comment, which I supplied orally after consulting with Bob, George Kolt, and Steve Kaplan. My comments were as follows:

The substance and tone are about right to achieve the aims set forth in the planning meeting of 16 October: Beat up on the Soviets, avoiding being defensive or apologetic, convey to them the risks and costs of their behavior.

The danger in this approach is that we will promise a more threatening and resolute course of action than the Administration can deliver. But it would be worse to take a more muted line that anticipates our own lack of resolve.

The points should probably be less voluminous on the costs of Cuba and Nicaragua to the Soviets. They know their own costs. Excessive harping on them by us might imply that those costs alone, not our efforts, should dissuade the Soviets from what they are doing. Alas, the costs are not that great given the expected gain. Our point should be that we are not going to let the Soviets consolidate in the region, hence their costs in the region could be a waste.

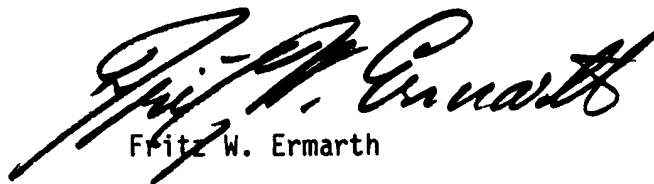
The line on Cuba goes just to the point of saying that Soviet use of Cuba as a revolutionary armed surrogate moots the assurances of 1962 . . . but does not quite say this explicitly. Elliot should seek policy approval to make this explicit: If the Sandinista problem doesn't reverse field, the actions we take may cost the Soviets their Cuban surrogate as well.

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2. Unless there is some political timidity on the seventh floor to alter it, this pitch from Abrams should give the Soviets a bit of a jolt. Our main problem is to make sure there is muscle behind it. Having made this pitch to the Soviets may help in developing the muscle.



Fritz W. Ermarth

cc: C/NIC  
NIO/LA

Attachment:  
As stated

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## U.S. - SOVIET TALKS

### INTRODUCTORY

WELCOME TO WASHINGTON.

WE HAVE INVITED YOU HERE TO DISCUSS THE CARIBBEAN BASIN AS PART OF AN AGREED EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON REGIONAL ISSUES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. I INTEND TO BE QUITE FRANK. I EXPECT THAT YOU WILL BE THE SAME.

LET ME FIRST INTRODUCE THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION, EVEN THOUGH I BELIEVE THE TWO SIDES BECAME ACQUAINTED AT LUNCH.

BEFORE PROCEEDING FURTHER, AMBASSADOR KAZIMIROV, I THOUGHT THAT YOU MIGHT WISH TO PRESENT THE SOVIET DELEGATION.

OUR SUBJECT IS THE CARIBBEAN BASIN. AS YOU ARE AWARE, MY RESPONSIBILITIES AS ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS ARE CONSIDERABLY MORE BROAD THAN THIS SUB-REGION. ON THE OTHER HAND, UNLESS I AM MISTAKEN, THIS AREA COINCIDES RATHER PRECISELY WITH YOUR OWN MANDATE.

IT WOULD BE A MORE PRECISE MATCHING IF ONE OF MY DEPUTIES WERE TO REPRESENT THE UNITED STATES. IN VIEW OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SUBJECT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE UNITED STATES, HOWEVER, I HAVE DECIDED TO LEAD THE U.S. SIDE.

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AS WE PREVIOUSLY INFORMED YOU THROUGH OUR EMBASSY IN MOSCOW, WE ANTICIPATE TWO SESSIONS, THIS AFTERNOON AND TOMORROW MORNING. TODAY EACH SIDE CAN PRESENT ITS POSITION. TOMORROW CAN BE FOR DISCUSSION OF THE TWO POSITIONS. ARE THERE ANY OBJECTIONS FROM THE SOVIET SIDE TO THIS FORMAT?

THERE BEING NO OBJECTION, I WOULD LIKE TO PROCEED AT ONCE TO THE SUBJECT MATTER AT HAND.

ON SOVIET INTENTIONS

-- AT THE OUTSET LET ME SAY WE UNDERSTAND THE SOVIET VIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS REGION. YOU THINK THAT THE ROOTS OF THE PROBLEM LIE IN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONTRADICTIONS WHICH YOU DESCRIBE IN TERMS OF CRISIS AND WHICH YOU BELIEVE WILL LEAD INEVITABLY TO THE FORMATION OF SOME FORM OF MARXIST-LENINIST SOCIETY. YOU THINK THAT THINGS ARE MOVING IN THIS DIRECTION, IF NOT RAPIDLY, THEN INEXORABLY.

-- YOU APPARENTLY BELIEVE THAT YOU CAN HELP THE HISTORICAL PROCESS ALONG BY GIVING MASSIVE AMOUNTS OF MILITARY AND NON-MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO YOUR SURROGATES IN THE REGION, WITH THE FLOW OF ARMS KEYED TO THE OPPORTUNITY. YOU MAY THINK THAT WE LACK THE RESOLVE TO DO MORE THAN SLOW DOWN THE TREND OR THAT OUR PURPOSE WILL BE FRUSTRATED BY DOMESTIC CRITICS OF OUR POLICY. YOU MAY ALSO

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BELIEVE THAT WHAT YOU ARE DOING IN THIS HEMISPHERE WILL HAVE NO  
SERIOUSLY ADVERSE EFFECTS FOR YOU ELSEWHERE, EVEN FROM THE  
STANDPOINT OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS.

-- AS DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FROM GRENADA SHOWED, YOU THINK YOU ARE WITNESSING AND HELPING TO BRING ABOUT A CHANGE IN THE CORRELATION OF FORCES IN THIS AREA; MARSHAL OGARKOV TOLD HIS THEN GRENADIAN COUNTERPART, MAJOR EINSTEIN LOUISON, "OVER TWO DECADES AGO THERE WAS ONLY CUBA IN LATIN AMERICA; TODAY THERE ARE NICARAGUA, GRENADA AND A SERIOUS BATTLE IS GOING ON IN EL SALVADOR." GRENADA HAS PROVED LESS COMMITTED THAN MARSHAL OGARKOV BELIEVED, BUT WE HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE YOUR BASIC ASSESSMENT CONCERNING CENTRAL AMERICAN TRENDS HAS CHANGED. OR AS A SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE AT THE "DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE," IN MOSCOW DESCRIBED IT MORE DISCREETLY, "THE CENTER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS HAS MOVED TO CENTRAL AMERICA."

-- JUDGING BY YOUR PRACTICE, YOU BELIEVE YOU CAN CONTINUE PRESENT POLICY WITH ACCEPTABLE COSTS AND WITHOUT SERIOUS RISK TO SOVIET NATIONAL INTERESTS. YOU APPEAR TO BELIEVE THAT AS LONG AS THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS SURROGATES RESPECT CERTAIN LIMITATIONS ABOUT WHICH OUR GOVERNMENTS HAVE HAD CAUSE TO DISCUSS, AND AS LONG AS YOUR ASSOCIATES AVOID CERTAIN FLAGRANT MISCALCULATIONS, WE AND OUR FRIENDS WILL NOT PREVENT THE CONSOLIDATION OF COMMUNIST CONTROL IN NICARAGUA OR THE PIECEMEAL EXPANSION OF THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM TO OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION--BY THE SAME STRATEGY AND TACTICS.

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WE KNOW THE CUBANS TELL THEIR FRIENDS THAT IF THE SANDINISTAS CAN SURVIVE A FEW MORE YEARS, THEY WILL BE IRREVERSIBLY ON THE CUBAN PATH. PERHAPS YOU THINK SO, TOO. TO ACHIEVE THESE ENDS YOU DO NOT SHRINK EVEN FROM HAVING YOUR CLIENTS DRAW ON THE SUPPORT OF THE LIBYANS AND OTHERS WHOSE USE OF TERRORIST METHODS IS TOO WELL KNOWN TO NEED ELABORATION HERE.

### COSTS AND RISKS

-- WE BOTH KNOW THAT YOU HAVE MADE AN ENORMOUS ECONOMIC SACRIFICE TO SUPPORT THE CASTRO REGIME IN CUBA. *We believe your* ~~CUBA HAS ALREADY COST YOU \$37 BILLION, DATING FROM THE OUTSET OF THE CASTRO ERA, INCLUDING SOFT CURRENCY LOANS. THIS COST IS RISING. LAST YEAR YOUR SUBSIDIES TO CUBA, INCLUDING OIL SALES FOREGONE, COST THE SOVIET PEOPLE WELL OVER FOUR BILLION DOLLARS. THIS WAS MORE THAN~~ *aid to Cuba is at least* ~~HALF OF YOUR TOTAL ECONOMIC AID TO COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, IT IS~~ *and that* ~~EQUAL TO ABOUT ONE-QUARTER OF CUBA'S GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT.~~

-- THIS IS NOT TO MENTION THE COST OF THE WEAPONS SUPPLIED, *to Cuba* ~~WHICH CERTAINLY EXCEED SIX BILLION DOLLARS SINCE 1962. YOUR WE HAVE~~ *not failed to notice the significant increase in such* ~~MILITARY AID EXCEEDED THREE BILLION DOLLARS IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS~~ *military aid over the last four years. Despite this aid, we* ~~ALONE. THERE IS NO END IN SIGHT, OR ANY REAL PROSPECT THAT CUBA~~ *believe* ~~UNDER THE CASTRO REGIME WILL EVER BE ABLE TO SURVIVE WITHOUT CONSTANTLY INCREASING LEVELS OF RESOURCE TRANSFERS FROM YOU. AND NICARAGUA IS STARTING DOWN THE SAME PATH.~~

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-- IN TERMS OF PETROLEUM, WE NOTE WITH CONSIDERABLE INTEREST THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT SOURCE OF CONVERTIBLE CURRENCY FOR CUBA IS NOT A CUBAN PRODUCT OR SERVICE AT ALL, BUT RATHER CUBA'S RE-EXPORT OF SOVIET OIL. THIS IS IN ADDITION, OF COURSE, TO THE OIL WHICH YOU PROVIDE TO CUBA AT SUBSIDIZED PRICES FOR ITS OWN USE.

-- AND NICARAGUA IS THIRSTY, TOO. IT NO LONGER CAN AFFORD TO PAY FOR OIL FROM VENEZUELA AND MEXICO, ITS TRADITIONAL SUPPLIERS, AND REQUIRES YOUR HELP. I UNDERSTAND YOU ARE PROVIDING 10,000 BARRELS OF OIL A DAY TO NICARAGUA ON LONG-TERM CREDIT. IN THIS CONTEXT WE NOTE THAT ALTHOUGH YOU ARE STILL CURRENTLY THE WORLD'S GREATEST PRODUCER OF CRUDE OIL, YOUR OUTPUT HAS FALLEN BELOW 12 MILLION BARRELS A DAY. SINCE I WOULD ASSUME THAT SOVIET OIL CONSUMPTION CONTINUES TO RISE, THE COST OF YOUR GENEROSITY TO CLIENTS IN THIS REGION CAN ONLY RISE.

*Generosity*

-- SPEAKING OF GENEROSITY, WITH REFERENCE TO THE COST OF YOUR CUBAN FRIENDS, YOU ARE NO DOUBT AWARE OF FIDEL CASTRO'S VIEWS ABOUT ALLEGEDLY UNPAYABLE FOREIGN DEBTS OWED BY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. CUBA SEEMS TO HAVE SUCH A DEBT TO THE SOVIET UNION.

-- SOME OF CASTRO'S FELLOW LATIN AMERICANS HAVE ASKED HIM ABOUT THIS DEBT. AT A PRESS CONFERENCE IN HAVANA LAST MONTH, AS DIVULGED BY GRAMMA WEEKLY REVIEW (SEPT 29, 1985) CASTRO CALLED THIS ONLY A "THEORETICAL DEBT" BECAUSE IT IS AUTOMATICALLY ROLLED OVER INTEREST FREE. CASTRO COMMENTED "I THINK THIS LEADS TO THE PRINCIPLE OF

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WRITING OFF OR ERASING DEBTS." HE EXPLAINED THAT THIS IS A PROCESS AND THAT THE STAGE WILL CERTAINLY BE REACHED WHEN THE DEBT WILL BE ERASED. I PRESUME YOU ARE AWARE OF THIS INTENT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR YOUR SUBSIDIZING OF CUBA INDEFINITELY.

-- YOU MAY FEEL YOU CAN ACCEPT THE COST OF KEEPING CUBA AND NICARAGUA FROM ECONOMIC COLLAPSE. NO DOUBT YOU FEEL THAT THE COSTS ARE JUSTIFIED ON NON-ECONOMIC GROUNDS BY THE GAINS YOU DERIVE FROM TRYING TO UNDERMINE THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES. AS THIS STRUGGLE YOU ARE SUPPORTING INTENSIFIES, I AM SURE YOU KNOW THAT YOUR COSTS WILL RISE. WE DO NOT SEEK YOUR ECONOMIC EXHAUSTION SUPPORTING CLIENT STATES THAT FIGHT MUCH BUT PRODUCE LITTLE. YOU MUST DECIDE YOUR OWN PRIORITIES.

#### ARMS FLOW TO CUBA

-- YOU ALSO SEEM TO OVERLOOK THE RISKS OF THIS POLICY, DESPITE THE FACT THAT SOVIET BOLDNESS 23 YEARS AGO IN CONJUNCTION WITH CUBA TOOK US CLOSER TO WAR THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE 1945. PERHAPS YOU THINK YOU CAN SAFELY RELY ON THOSE PROXIES IN THE REGION WHO ARE RECEIVING YOUR ARMS AND YOUR AID AND WHO, IN TURN, ARE GUIDING, TRAINING AND SUPPLYING THE FORCES FIGHTING TO OVERTURN THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE REGION.

-- THE WEAPONS WHICH YOU AGREED TO SUPPLY TO GRENADA PASSED THROUGH CUBA. WE KNOW THAT OTHER SOVIET ARMS DELIVERIES FOLLOW AN

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ANALOGOUS ROUTE. LET ME RECALL THOSE ARMS DELIVERIES TO CUBA AND NICARAGUA, WHICH INCIDENTALLY HAVE GROWN OVER THE YEARS IRRESPECTIVE OF WHAT ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN GOVERNING IN WASHINGTON. THEY DO NOT DEPEND ON U.S.-CUBAN RELATIONS. THEY ARE PEGGED TO THE OPPORTUNITIES WHICH YOU AND THE RECIPIENTS SEE FOR USING THEM HERE, IN AFRICA OR ELSEWHERE. IN THE CASE OF CUBA THESE WEAPONS HAVE BEEN USED FOR OFFENSIVE PURPOSES, FAR FROM HOME. YOUR MASSIVE ECONOMIC AID TO CUBA PRESUMABLY GIVES YOU SOME INFLUENCE THERE, WHICH COULD BE USED FOR RESTRAINT. BUT WHAT DOES THE RECORD SHOW?

-- IT SHOWS THAT YOU HAVE DELIVERED SINCE 1962 <sup>ALMOST 1</sup> ~~MORE THAN~~ <sup>BILLION</sup> ~~500,000~~ TONS OF MUNITIONS TO CUBA. THOSE WEAPONS HAVE BEEN PUT TO USE ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY OUTSIDE THE BOUNDARIES OF CUBA IN CONFLICTS CHOSEN BY YOU OR HAVANA OR BOTH.

-- MORE THAN ONE-QUARTER OF THIS TOTAL (250,000 TONS) WAS DELIVERED IN 1962, TURNING CUBA ALMOST OVERNIGHT INTO A GARRISON STATE ABLE TO THREATEN ITS NEIGHBORS.

-- IN THE PERIOD THROUGH 1976 YOU DELIVERED ANOTHER ONE QUARTER BILLION TONS OF WEAPONS TO THE CUBANS.

BUT AFTER 1977, AS OPPORTUNITIES HAD ALREADY OPENED FOR WHOLESALE COMMITMENT OF CUBAN TROOPS TO ANGOLA, AND LATER TO THE HORN OF AFRICA AND THE CARIBBEAN BASIN, THE PACE OF YOUR ARMS

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SHIPMENTS ROSE AND 130,000 TONS FLOWED TO CUBA IN THE FOUR YEARS OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, 1977-1980, EVEN THOUGH THAT ADMINISTRATION WAS TRYING TO ENGAGE CUBA IN PEACEFUL DIALOGUE.

-- SINCE 1981 THE FLOODGATES HAVE OPENED STILL MORE, AND YOUR WEAPONS HAVE POURED IN AT A RATE UNPRECEDENTED SINCE 1962. BY THE END OF 1984 YOU DELIVERED NEARLY ANOTHER QUARTER-BILLION TONS OF MUNITIONS AS CASTRO FEVERISHLY BUILT UP HIS ARMED FORCES AND VOWED THAT CUBAN "INTERNATIONALISTS" ABROAD WOULD FIGHT TO THE DEATH SHOULD THE CALL COME.

-- WE HAVE TO ASSUME THAT YOU KNEW WHAT YOU WERE DOING WHEN YOU TURNED CUBA INTO AN ARMED CAMP. WE HOLD THE SOVIET UNION STRICTLY ACCOUNTABLE FOR THIS RECKLESS DELIVERY OF WEAPONS--MIG 21 AND 23 AIRCRAFT, 1,000 TANKS, A NAVY INCLUDING SUBMARINES AND AMPHIBIOUS TROOP LANDING CRAFT--TO ONE OF THE MOST PUGNACIOUS STATES OF THE PRESENT CENTURY.

-- MOREOVER [FROM CUBA YOU CARRY ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES AGAINST THE UNITED STATES.] YOUR MILITARY AND CIVILIAN ADVISERS AND YOUR COMBAT BRIGADE ARE THERE TO SHOW YOUR SUPPORT FOR THE REGIME THAT STRIVES INCEASINGLY TO DESTABILIZE THE ENTIRE CARIBBEAN BASIN. FAR FROM SEEKING TO REDUCE TENSIONS IN THE REGION YOUR POLICY IN CUBA HAS BEEN A MAJOR CONTRIBUTING FACTOR TO STRIFE IN THE CARIBBEAN BASIN AND TO THE STRAINS IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS.

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ARMS FLOW TO NICARAGUA

-- WHAT ABOUT NICARAGUA? MARSHAL OGARKOV FOUND IT COMING ALONG ON CUBA'S PATH. THE CUBANS FEEL THE SAME WAY, EVEN IF YOU BOTH ARE CLEVER ENOUGH TO TRY TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THEM. THAT DISTINCTION IS EVERYDAY LESS APPARENT IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD. YOUR FLOW OF WEAPONS SEEMS TO FIT HIS ASSESSMENT NICELY. BUILDING ANOTHER GARRISON STATE ON THE MAINLAND WHICH, SHOULD IT SURVIVE, COULD BECOME A NEW BASE FROM WHICH TO PROJECT POWER.

-- THE ROLE OF THE CUBAN AND OTHER SOVIET BLOC ADVISERS SEEKS TO MAKE SANDINISTA CONTROL IRREVERSIBLE THROUGH CREATION OF SOVIET-TYPE SECURITY APPARATUS AND DIRECT SUPERVISION OF THE MILITARY AS WELL. ALREADY AIRFIELDS ARE BEING BUILT THERE WHICH COULD BE USED FOR INTELLIGENCE AND MILITARY PATROL PURPOSES WITH RESPECT TO THE WEST COAST OF THE UNITED STATES.

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 -- YOUR FIRST ARMOR--~~140~~ T-55 MEDIUM TANKS--REACHED NICARAGUA  
 IN <sup>EARLY</sup>~~NOVEMBER~~ 1981 TO COINCIDE WITH THE MASSIVE MILITIA BUILD-UP  
 THERE. THIS WAS LONG BEFORE THERE WAS A SIGNIFICANT ARMED  
 OPPOSITION TO SANDINISTA MISRULE. SINCE THEN YOU AND YOUR ALLIES  
 HAVE DELIVERED \$500 MILLION WORTH OF MUNITIONS OF WAR TO NICARAGUA.

-- THE TREND IN THIS ARMS FLOW, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF THE CUBAN PRECEDENT, IS CLEAR. THESE WEAPONS, SUCH AS THE MI-24/HIND D ATTACK HELICOPTERS, ARE BEING USED TO KILL NICARAGUANS WITH WHOM

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THE SANDINISTAS REFUSE TO ENTER INTO A MEANINGFUL DIALOGUE. YOU ARE STEPPING UP THE ARMS RACE IN CENTRAL AMERICA. IN THIS EXPANDING CIVIL CONFLICT YOU SHOULD BE IN NO DOUBT AS TO WHOM WE WILL GIVE VIGOROUS SUPPORT. THIS IS A STRUGGLE THAT TOUCHES THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

-- THE TRUE IDENTITY OF THE NICARAGUAN REGIME HAS LONG BEEN KNOWN TO SOME. WE SUSPECTED IT AT THE OUTSET. YOU KNEW IT. FIDEL CASTRO KNEW IT. PERHAPS THAT IS WHY NOT LONG AGO HE TOLD SOME SPANISH JOURNALISTS THAT THE SANDINISTAS, AS TRUE REVOLUTIONARIES, WERE FOLLOWING A "PERFECT" POLICY, BIDDING THEIR TIME UNTIL CONDITIONS PERMITTED THEM TO INTRODUCE WHAT YOU AND HE CALL "SOCIALISM". BUT IS THE STRATEGY SO PERFECT? THE WORD IS GETTING OUT ABOUT THE SANDINISTAS.

-- ON OCTOBER 15 THE JUNTA IN MANAGUA FELT ITSELF OBLIGED TO "SUSPEND" 13 ARTICLES OF THE STATUTE ON NICARAGUAN RIGHTS AND GUARANTEES.

-- THE RIGHTS "SUSPENDED" WERE BASIC TO ANY SOCIETY WHICH PURPORTS TO GOVERN WITH THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED. THEY INCLUDE FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, THE RIGHT OF PEACEFUL ASSEMBLY, THE RIGHT TO CREATE AND PROMOTE ORGANIZATIONS, ASSOCIATIONS, TRADE UNIONS AND PRODUCTIVE COOPERATIVES, THE RIGHT TO STRIKE, THE INVIOABILITY OF THE HOME, THE INVIOABILITY OF PRIVATE DOCUMENTS AND COMMUNICATIONS ALONG WITH BASIC CIVIL RIGHTS IN CRIMINAL CASES. THESE CIVIL

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RIGHTS INCLUDE THE FREEDOM FROM ARBITRARY ARREST, NOTIFICATION OF CHARGES, WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS, ASSUMPTION OF INNOCENCE UNTIL PROVED GUILTY, PROMPT TRIAL BY A COMPETENT COURT, GUARANTEED DEFENSE DURING THE TRIAL PROCESS, NO FORCED SELF-INCRIMINATING TESTIMONY, TRIAL BY JURY, RIGHT OF APPEAL AND OTHERS.

-- THESE ARE THE RIGHTS ENUMERATED IN ARTICLES 8, 11, 13, 20, 21, 23, 24, 31 AND 50 OF THE STATUTE ON NICARAGUAN RIGHTS AND GUARANTEES.

-- THIS BASIC DENIAL OF THE RIGHTS OF NICARAGUAN CITIZENS WAS HAILED IN CUBA AS "A LANDMARK IN THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS". HAVANA INTERNATIONAL SERVICE ON OCTOBER 17 SAID IT WAS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT STEPS TAKEN BY THE SANDINISTAS TO "BOLSTER REVOLUTIONARY ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND CONCENTRATE THE PEOPLE'S EFFORTS ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE DEFENSE OF THE HOMELAND."

-- CUBA LIKED IT, YES. BUT WHAT WAS THE REACTION OF OTHERS WHO HAVE NOT BEEN UNSYMPATHETIC IN THE PAST TO THE SANDINISTAS?

-- THE NEW YORK TIMES STUDIED THE ACTION OF THE JUNTA AND COMMENTED ON OCTOBER 18 THAT MANAGUA'S REPRESSIVE REGIME HAD "SUSPENDED BY DECREE THE FREEDOMS IT GRUDGINGLY ACCORDED ITS DOMESTIC OPPONENTS. IT ADDED THAT "THE SANDINISTAS NEVER INTENDED TO SHARE POWER." THE TIMES ALSO SAID THAT THE JUNTA, "IN DECLARING ITS COLORS," HAD EMBARRASSED OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THOSE IN THE CONTADORA PROCESS.

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"THE WASHINGTON POST COMMENTED: THE SANDINISTAS IN NICARAGUA HAVE GONE BACK TO THE CUBAN TYPE POLICE-STATE RULES THEY SUSPENDED LAST YEAR DURING THE ELECTION PERIOD. WHEN A HINT OF OPENNESS OF PLURALISM WAS DEEMED CONVENIENT. EVEN IN THE INTERVAL, ARBITRARINESS AND REPRESSION WERE COMMON. NOW THE TOTALITARIAN CORE OF THE SANDINISTAS PHILOSOPHY IS OUT IN PLAIN VIEW."

-- AND NBC NEWSMAN TOM BROKAW, INTERVIEWING DANIEL ORTEGA ON OCTOBER 21 TOLD HIM BLUNTLY: "PARDON ME, MR. PRESIDENT, BUT I HAVE HEARD FRIENDS OF YOURS IN THIS COUNTRY...SPEAKING OUT ON YOUR BEHALF BEFORE WHEN YOU HAVE DONE THINGS. BUT I'VE HEARD NOT ONE VOICE RAISED IN SUPPORT OF THIS POLITICAL CRACKDOWN THAT YOU INSTITUTED JUST LAST WEEK."

IN FACT THE REASONS FOR SUSPENSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES ARE CLEAR. IT REFLECTS THE FEAR OF THE SANDINISTAS OF THEIR OWN POPULATION WHICH IS GROWING INCREASINGLY MORE DISILLUSIONED WITH THEIR MISMANAGEMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND INCREASING IMPOSITION OF TOTALITARIAN MEASURES OF POLITICAL CONTROL.

-- SOVIET SPOKESMEN HAVE ARGUED THAT THIS IS AN ISSUE BETWEEN NICARAGUA AND THE UNITED STATES. IT IS NOT. IT IS ACTUALLY AN ISSUE BETWEEN THE SANDINISTA REGIME AND THE PEOPLE OF NICARAGUA, BETWEEN THAT REGIME AND NEIGHBORING GOVERNMENTS. THIS REGIME, TO WHICH YOUR ARMS AND MONEY ARE FLOWING INCREASINGLY, AND WHICH WAS ORIGINALLY SURROUNDED BY FRIENDS, HAS EMBARRASSED OTHER LATIN

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AMERICANS. NOT LONG AGO THE DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED PRESIDENT OF ECUADOR CALLED ON THE NICARAGUAN JUNTA TO PERMIT "LEGITIMATE POPULAR ELECTIONS... WITHOUT STICKS, CLUBS AND VIOLENCE." DANIEL ORTEGA RESPONDED PREDICTABLY: HE CALLED THE ELECTED HEAD OF STATE OF ECUADOR "AN INSTRUMENT OF THE UNITED STATES."

-- THE MILITARIZATION OF NICARAGUA WHICH HAS BEEN TAKING PLACE FROM THE FIRST DAY OF THE SANDINISTA REGIME--WE MIGHT CALL IT GARRISON STATE NO. TWO IN THIS HEMISPHERE--HAS DONE MORE THAN TERRIFY ITS OWN CITIZENS. IT HAS FRIGHTENED NICARAGUA'S NEIGHBORS, INCLUDING COSTA RICA WHICH FOR MANY YEARS HAS BEEN NOT MERELY A BASTION OF DEMOCRACY IN THE REGION BUT ALSO A STATE WHICH CHOSE TO FORSAKE WEAPONS IN THE INTEREST OF PEACE. THE SANDINISTAS' EARLY AND OVERT IDENTIFICATION OF THEMSELVES WITH THE USSR ALIENATED MANY POTENTIAL SUPPORTERS, PARTICULARLY IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. TODAY AFTER OVER SIX YEARS OF EXPERIENCE EVERY STATE IN CENTRAL AMERICA REGARDS THE ARMED CAMP THAT IS NICARAGUA AS THE BIGGEST DANGER TO ITS OWN SECURITY.

-- IT WILL ALSO BE INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT FOR THE FRIGHTENED MEN IN MANAGUA, WHO RECENTLY REFUSED TO LET THE ARCHBISHOP OF MANAGUA ENTER ONE OF THE OFFICES OF HIS CHURCH, TO MAINTAIN THE RESPECT OF THE ELECTED LEADERS AND THE ENLIGHTENED PEOPLES OF THIS INCREASINGLY DEMOCRATIC CONTINENT. IN NICARAGUA THE MASK IS OFF. THE SANDINISTAS HAVE POLARIZED NICARAGUA. WHERE AT THE OUTSET THERE WERE 400 FIGHTERS IN OPPOSITION, THERE ARE NOW MORE THAN

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15,000 ARMED AND 10,000 UNARMED INSURGENTS. FOR THEIR PART THE SANDINISTAS HAVE THE SERVICES OF THOUSANDS OF MILITARY AIDES FROM CUBA, EASTERN EUROPE, LIBYA AND FROM A MOTLEY CREW OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISTS. YOUR ARMS DELIVERIES CONTINUE TO ROLL TO NICARAGUA, BUT THEY ONLY EXACERBATE TENSIONS IN THE REGION AND INCREASE THE RISK OF WAR.

#### ARMS FLOW TO GRENADA

-- I MENTIONED EARLIER WHAT MARSHAL OGARKOV SAID ABOUT GRENADA'S ALIGNMENT WITH CUBA AND NICARAGUA AND THE TREND HE THOUGHT IT REPRESENTED. SPEAKING IN THE CONTEXT OF ARMS DELIVERIES, LET US RECALL THAT ON JULY 27, 1982, THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND THE THEN-GOVERNMENT OF GRENADA SIGNED AN AGREEMENT COMMITTING THE USSR TO THE SHIPMENT FREE OF CHARGE IN THE 1982 TO 1985 PERIOD OF SOME TEN MILLION RUBLES WORTH OF "SPECIAL AND CIVIL SHIPMENT." THE SHIPMENT WAS TO BE BY SEA, AT A CUBAN PORT, WITH ITS FURTHER DELIVERY TO BE ARRANGED DIRECTLY BETWEEN CUBA AND GRENADA.

-- AND WHAT WAS THIS SPECIAL EQUIPMENT, FOR THE EMPLOYMENT OF WHICH SOVIET AND GRENADAN SERVICEMEN WERE TO BE EXCHANGED? SOME OF IT WAS THE FOLLOWING:

- ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS
- 7.62MM RIFLE CARTRIDGES
- 76MM ZIS-3 GUNS, WITH AMMUNITION

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- ANTI-TANK GUNS, WITH AMMUNITION
- PORTABLE "GRAD-P" LAUNCHERS
- 122MM FRAGMENTATION HIGH EXPLOSIVES SET PROJECTILES
- 82MM DM MORTARS, WITH ROUNDS
- ASSORTED SMALL ARMS, INCLUDING ANTI-TANK GRENADE LAUNCHERS, MACHINE GUNS, CARBINES, SNIPER'S RIFLES, PISTOLS, HAND GRENADES, MINES, MILITARY VEHICLES, UNIFORMS AND OTHER PARAPHENALIA FOR THE CONDUCT OF HOSTILITIES.

-- THIS WAS SPECIAL EQUIPMENT FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF MAURICE BISHOP, WHOSE VIEW OF SOCIAL ORDER WAS EPITOMIZED A FEW WEEKS LATER IN HIS LINE OF MARCH SPEECH OF SEPTEMBER 13, 1982. BISHOP SAID:

-- "... CONSIDER HOW PEOPLE GET DETAINED IN THIS COUNTRY. WE DON'T GO AND CALL FOR NO VOTES. YOU GET DETAINED WHEN I SIGN AN ORDER AFTER DISCUSSING IT WITH THE NATIONAL SECURITY COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OR WITH A HIGHER PARTY BODY. ONCE I SIGN IT--LIKE IT OR DON'T LIKE IT--IT'S UP THE HILL FOR THEM."

-- IT IS A SMALL WONDER THAT BISHOP AND HIS MOVEMENT CAME TO A BAD END ONE YEAR LATER, TWO YEARS AGO. IT IS SMALL WONDER THAT THE ELECTED GOVERNMENTS OF THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN WERE CONCERNED ABOUT WHAT GRENADA REALLY REPRESENTED. BISHOP AND COARD WERE NOT THE ONLY LOSERS FROM THAT FAILED EXPERIMENT IN TYRANNY. THOSE WHO SUPPORTED THEM LOST, TOO.

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-- YOU KNOW THAT WE ARE AWARE OF THIS FLOW OF ARMS TO REGIMES  
IN THIS REGION WHICH ARE ATTEMPTING TO OVERTHROW OTHER GOVERNMENTS  
AND WHICH DENY THEIR OWN POPULATIONS THE MOST ELEMENTARY FREEDOMS.  
YET YOU APPEAR TO THINK THAT THE RISK FOR YOU IN ALL OF THIS IS  
VERY LOW IN RELATION TO WHAT YOU HOPE YOU ARE GOING TO DERIVE FROM  
IT. BUT DO NOT LOSE SIGHT OF WHAT HAPPENED IN GRENADA. THAT WAS  
NO ABBERATION. THAT WAS A MEASURED REACTION TO DEVELOPMENTS.

-- YOU MAY FEEL THAT YOUR POLICY IS SUCCESSFUL, CAUSING US  
 ANNOYANCE CLOSE TO HOME AND FAR FROM THE SOVIET UNION. THE SOVIET  
 SIDE OUGHT TO BEAR IN MIND, HOWEVER, THAT YOUR SEEMING SUCCESSES,  
 LIKE THE RECENT VISIT OF DANIEL ORTEGA TO MOSCOW TO ASK FOR MORE  
 ASSISTANCE, ONLY STRENGTHEN THE AWARENESS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OF  
 THE NATURE OF THE REGIME. THAT VISIT HELPED TO OPEN MANY EYES, AND  
 NOT ONLY IN THIS COUNTRY, TO THE TRUE NATURE OF THE NICARAGUAN  
 REGIME, JUST AS THE SUSPENSION OF WHAT WAS LEFT OF FREEDOM IN  
 NICARAGUA EDIFIED THE NEW YORK TIMES.

-- AS THE STAKES OF THE GAME MOUNT, IT MAKES THE OUTCOME ALL  
THE MORE INTERESTING TO EACH SIDE AND THE FORM OF ITS EVENTUAL  
RESOLUTION ALL THE MORE VISIBLE. OR AS A SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE  
 SAID AT THE DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW, THE PROBLEM REAPPEARS  
 IN A MORE ACUTE FORM AND AT A HIGHER LEVEL OF INTENSITY. IT IS A  
CONTEST WHICH YOUR CLIENT CANNOT WIN. THERE ARE ONLY TWO POSSIBLE  
OUTCOMES: EITHER A PEACEFUL SOLUTION BASED ON A GENUINELY OPEN AND  
DEMOCRATIC SETTLEMENT IS REACHED IN NICARAGUA OR THE FIGHT GOES ON  
UNTIL THE TYRANNY IS ENDED BY FORCE OF ARMS.

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Well? -- NEVERTHELESS, DESPITE GRENADA, DESPITE OUR ASSISTANCE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR AND TO THE DEMOCRATIC ELEMENTS RESISTING BY FORCE THE IMPOSITION OF A COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP IN NICARAGUA, YOU MAY THINK THAT WE ARE UNABLE TO COMBAT SUCCESSFULLY MARXIST-LENINIST REVOLUTIONARIES IN THIS HEMISPHERE AND ARE DOOMED TO WASTE OUR RESOURCES IN TRYING TO SLOW THEM DOWN. PERHAPS YOUR EMBASSY IS TELLING YOU THAT THE UNITED STATES, IN THE POST-VIETNAM PERIOD, DESPITE ITS KNOWLEDGE OF THE THREAT TO ITS SECURITY, IS UNABLE TO SUMMON SUFFICIENT INTERNAL RESOLVE TO HELP ITS OWN FRIENDS IN THIS REGION TO SAFEGUARD THEIR FREEDOM.

PURPOSE OF THE MEETING

-- IF YOU THINK THAT YOU AND YOUR ALLIES ARE ON HISTORY'S SIDE, AND I SUSPECT YOU DO THINK SO, ONE MIGHT SUPPOSE THAT THERE IS NO PURPOSE TO THIS MEETING AND THAT WE ARE WASTING EACH OTHER'S TIME. CERTAINLY WE ARE NOT SO NAIVE AS TO HOLD ANY EXPECTATIONS THAT YOU WILL GO AWAY PERSUADED. BUT I DO INTEND TO TELL YOU TODAY THREE THINGS:

-- FIRST, YOU ARE WRONG ABOUT TRENDS IN THIS REGION. WE KNOW THE AREA FAR BETTER THAN YOU.

-- SECOND, YOU ARE WRONG TO THINK THAT THIS HAS NO RISKS FOR THE SOVIET UNION. YOUR SURROGATES FACE GROWING OPPOSITION IN A CONFLICT WHICH ADVERSELY AFFECTS OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. YOUR COSTS ARE RISING AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO.

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-- THIRD, YOU ARE WRONG ABOUT THE WILL AND THE CAPACITY OF THE UNITED STATES TO TAKE FORCEFUL ACTION IN ITS OWN DEFENSE AND THAT OF ITS FRIENDS. FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES, THIS AREA IS NO MORE OPEN TO COLONIZATION OR TRANSFER THAN IT WAS IN THE PAST, AND THE UNITED STATES HAS NEVER BEEN MORE DETERMINED TO DEAL WITH HOSTILE THREATS.

-- NOW I WOULD LIKE TO TELL YOU BRIEFLY WHY THE CARIBBEAN BASIN IS NOT GOING TO END UP LOOKING LIKE CUBA.

-- THIS IS A REGION WHICH HAS BEEN OF CLOSE INTEREST TO THE UNITED STATES SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE REPUBLIC. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE HAVE SOUGHT TO SAFEGUARD OUR SECURITY IN THE REGION BY OBLIGING OTHER STATES TO MODEL THEIR OWN POLITICAL SYSTEMS ON OURS OR TO FOLLOW OUR LEAD IN ALL OR MOST ISSUES. IT IS A HETEROGENEOUS REGION AND WILL REMAIN SO. WE SEEK NO SPHERE OF INFLUENCE AND ACCORD NONE TO OTHERS. BUT WE CANNOT IGNORE DICTATORS WHO MAKE THEMSELVES INTO OUR ENEMIES AND WHO INTERVENE FLAGRANTLY IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHERS UNDER A DOCTRINE WHICH ASSERTS THEY HAVE AN "INTERNATIONALIST DUTY" TO DO SO. WE HAVE BEEN PATIENT, PERHAPS OVERLY PATIENT, BUT OUR PATIENCE HAS LIMITS. WE WILL NOT TOLERATE ANY STATE OR GROUP OF STATES TURNING THIS REGION THROUGH MEANS OF VIOLENCE INTO A SPRINGBOARD FOR AGGRESSION AGAINST THE UNITED STATES OR FOR THE PIECEMEAL DESTRUCTION OF FRIENDLY STATES IN THE REGION.

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-- BEAR IN MIND THAT THIS AREA HAS DEEP DEMOCRATIC ROOTS, PARTICULARLY IN THOSE STATES WHICH DERIVED THEIR POLITICAL PRINCIPLES, AS WE OURSELVES DID, FROM THE BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM. THE SAME IS TRUE OF COSTA RICA. IN OTHER STATES IN THE REGION, WITH THE NOTABLE EXCEPTION OF CUBA AND NICARAGUA, THERE HAS BEEN REMARKABLE PROGRESS TOWARD DEMOCRACY. THIS MOVEMENT IS OCCURRING AND STRENGTHENING DESPITE EFFORTS BY ARMED MINORITIES, SUPPORTED BY THE SOVIET UNION, CUBA AND NICARAGUA AND OTHER STATES OR GROUPS, TO ARREST THE PROCESS. THIS GROWING DEMOCRATIC TREND ENJOYS THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. IT IS ALSO SINCERELY WELCOMED BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WHOSE SUPPORT AND UNDERSTANDING IS AN AUGUR FOR ITS SUCCESS.

-- SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY--AND REJECTION OF ALL FORMS OF TOTALITARIANISM--IS A GOAL SHARED BY THE VAST MAJORITY OF LATIN AMERICANS. THEY ARE NOT INTERESTED IN ADOPTING THE SOVIET AND CUBAN ECONOMIC/POLITICAL MODELS. NOR ARE THEY BLIND TO SOVIET AND CUBAN EFFORTS TO IMPOSE THEIR MODEL OF SOCIETY, THROUGH ARMED SUBVERSION, ON FELLOW LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES.

-- WE ARE DEMONSTRATING OUR CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE OF THIS REGION BY SUPPORTING ITS EFFORTS TO OVERCOME PROBLEMS OF AN ECONOMIC OR SOCIAL NATURE. THE AMERICAN PUBLIC STRONGLY SUPPORTS THE COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC PROGRAM PREPARED BY THE NATIONAL BIPARTISAN COMMISSION ON CENTRAL AMERICA. THIS HAS ALREADY BEGUN TO IMPROVE LIVING CONDITIONS STILL FURTHER AND TO RESTORE SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH.

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-- THE 12-YEAR CARIBBEAN BASIN INITIATIVE WAS PASSED BY CONGRESS WITH STRONG BIPARTISAN SUPPORT. IT IS THE ONLY PREFERENTIAL TRADING ARRANGEMENT THE UNITED STATES HAS WITH A SPECIFIC REGION. THIS INITIATIVE IS MOBILIZING INCREASED RESOURCES, NEW INVESTMENT OPPORTUNITIES AND A CLOSE COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP, ESPECIALLY AMONG PRIVATE SECTORS, IN PROMOTING ECONOMIC FREEDOM, UNFETTERED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND DOMESTIC PEACE. WE ARE CLOSELY LINKED TO THESE POPULAR ASPIRATIONS AND ASSOCIATE OUR OWN SECURITY AND WELFARE WITH THOSE OF OUR NEIGHBORS.

-- I WISH TO REITERATE, MR. AMBASSADOR, THAT WE DO NOT COMPEL OUR NEIGHBORS TO ADOPT OUR INSTITUTIONS OR OUR ATTITUDES. VOTING RECORDS IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS, IF NOTHING ELSE, ATTEST TO THIS. WE SEE OUR SECURITY IN THEIR VERY FREEDOM TO DECIDE THEIR OWN AFFAIRS. TODAY THIS FREEDOM IS JEOPARDIZED BY ARMED MINORITIES SUPPORTED FROM ABROAD. WE ARE RESOLVED TO HELP THE PEOPLES OF THIS REGION TO SAFEGUARD IT FROM HOSTILE FORCES.

-- AMBASSADOR KAZIMIROV, I HAVE SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO DO WHAT IS NECESSARY TO SAFEGUARD ITS NATIONAL SECURITY AND TO PROTECT FRIENDLY NATIONS IN THIS REGION. I HAVE ALSO CALLED ATTENTION TO THE CONTINUING MASSIVE FLOW OF SOVIET MILITARY AID TO CUBA AND MORE RECENTLY TO NICARAGUA. TWENTY-THREE YEARS AGO OUR TWO NATIONS CAME CLOSE TO WAR WHEN YOUR GOVERNMENT PLACED NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN CUBA. ON NOVEMBER 20, 1962, PRESIDENT KENNEDY IN A PRESS CONFERENCE SAID:

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"IF ALL OFFENSIVE WEAPONS ARE REMOVED FROM CUBA AND KEPT OUT OF THE HEMISPHERE IN THE FUTURE, UNDER ADEQUATE VERIFICATION AND SAFEGUARDS, AND IF CUBA IS NOT USED FOR THE EXPORT OF AGGRESSIVE COMMUNIST PURPOSES, THERE WILL BE PEACE IN THE CARIBBEAN."

ILLEGIB

-- THERE IS UNFORTUNATELY CONFLICT, NOT PEACE, IN ONE AREA OF THE CARIBBEAN BASIN TODAY. CUBA CLEARLY HAS BEEN USED, WITH THE COOPERATION OF ITS OWN LEADERSHIP, IN THE EXPORT OF AGGRESSIVE COMMUNIST PURPOSES. INDEED CUBA HAS ALWAYS BEEN AGGRESSIVE ABOUT THE EXPORT OF ITS SYSTEM. BUT IT NEVER ENJOYED SUCCESS UNTIL 1979. NOW IT IS STRIVING TO CONSOLIDATE THE COMMUNIST REGIME IN NICARAGUA AND TO CREATE OTHERS IN THIS REGION ON THE SAME MODEL. THE SOVIET UNION HAS NOT ONLY CONTRIBUTED ENORMOUSLY TO THIS PROCESS; IT CAN BE SAID TO HAVE MADE IT POSSIBLE BY ITS ARMS FLOW AND ITS COSTLY SUBSIDIZATION OF CUBA AS A REVOLUTIONARY FULCRUM IN THE CARIBBEAN BASIN. SOVIET SUPPORT TO AN AGGRESSIVE CUBA AND TO THE NICARAGUAN COMMUNISTS HAS UNDERMINED THE PEACE OF THE CARIBBEAN AND GREATLY INCREASED THE DANGER THAT VIOLENCE WILL SPREAD IN THE REGION.

-- IN THE PAST WE HAVE HAD CAUSE TO SPEAK TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ABOUT THE PARTICULAR DANGER OF INTRODUCING COMBAT AIRCRAFT OR CUBAN COMBAT FORCES INTO NICARAGUA. YOU ARE ALSO AWARE THAT WE HAVE WARNED THE GOVERNMENT OF NICARAGUA THAT ACTS OF TERRORISM AGAINST AMERICAN CITIZENS FOR WHICH THEIR RESPONSIBILITY

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IS ESTABLISHED WILL BE PUNISHED. I WISH TO REITERATE THOSE CONCERNS WHICH OBVIOUSLY HAVE LOST NONE OF THEIR RELEVANCE. AT THE SAME TIME, IT SHOULD BE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT REFERENCE TO THOSE WEAPONS, FORCES AND METHODS ARE UNACCEPTABLE IN NO WAY AFFECTS OUR GRAVE CONCERN FOR THE OVERALL ARMS BUILD-UP OF CUBA AND NICARAGUA BY THE SOVIET UNION AND FOR THE USE TO WHICH THESE ARMS ARE PUT. WE RESERVE THE RIGHT TO DRAW ATTENTION TO THOSE OR OTHER WEAPONS OR PERSONNEL AS THE SITUATION WARRANTS. SIMILARLY WE RESERVE THE RIGHT TO TAKE ALL NECESSARY ACTION IN THE REGION TO SAFEGUARD THE INTERESTS OF OUR NATIONAL SECURITY AND THAT OF FRIENDLY NATIONS, INCLUDING CONTINUED OR EVEN ENHANCED MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO FRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS AND TO THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION IN NICARAGUA. *Wow!*

-- WE HAVE EXPLAINED TO YOU AND HAVE BEEN QUITE CANDID ABOUT OUR CONCERN AS TO WHAT YOU ARE TRYING TO DO IN AFGHANISTAN. SIMILAR CONCERNS MOTIVATE OUR THINKING ABOUT THE SITUATION IN CAMBODIA WHICH IS UNDER OCCUPATION BY ITS RAPACIOUS NEIGHBOR TO THE EAST. BOTH OF THESE ISSUES HAVE AROUSED WORLDWIDE CONCERN, WHICH WE FULLY SHARE.

-- IT HAS SOMETIMES BEEN SUGGESTED, PRIMARILY BY PERSONS WHOSE UNDERSTANDING OF FOREIGN RELATIONS IS NOT PROFOUND, THAT THERE IS SOMEHOW A POTENTIAL FOR A BARGAIN HERE, THAT OUR SECURITY CONCERNS IN THE CARIBBEAN REGION ARE ANALOGOUS TO THOSE OF THE SOVIET UNION IN EASTERN EUROPE OR ASIA. IN FACT, OF COURSE, THESE ISSUES ARE

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TOTALLY DISTINCT EVEN IF THERE ARE SOME ELEMENTS OF SEEMING SIMILARITY. WE FAVOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE FOR ALL PEOPLES EVERYWHERE AS TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THEIR OWN SOCIETY. OUR SUPPORT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC RESISTANCE IN NICARAGUA DOES NOT DIMINISH OUR ADMIRATION FOR FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN AFGHANISTAN OR CAMBODIA. OUR HOPE IS THAT ALL MAY HAVE FULL USE OF THEIR RIGHT TO NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE IN A JUST AND FREE SOCIETY.

BEFORE CONCLUDING THIS FRANK PRESENTATION OF AMERICAN THINKING ABOUT OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH RESPECT TO THE CARIBBEAN BASIN REGION, I WOULD LIKE TO INVITE YOUR ATTENTION TO THE INITIATIVE TAKEN BY PRESIDENT REAGAN IN HIS SPEECH OCTOBER 24 AT THE FORTIETH UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY. THIS INITIATIVE WAS TAKEN IN FULL AWARENESS OF THE GRAVE THREAT TO WORLD PEACE AND STABILITY WHICH IS POSED BY THE FIVE CONFLICTS BEING WAGED IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD AT THE PRESENT TIME. ONE OF THESE INVOLVES NICARAGUA.

THE PRESIDENT POINTED OUT THAT THE WARS BEING WAGED BY THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS AGAINST THEIR OWN CITIZENS TEND TO BECOME WARS AGAINST THEIR NEIGHBORS. IN THE CASE OF NICARAGUA THERE WAS INTERVENTION BY THE SANDINISTAS AND BY CUBA IN NEIGHBORING EL SALVADOR WELL BEFORE THE SANDINISTAS FACED A STRUGGLE IN THEIR OWN TERRITORY, BUT THAT STRUGGLE HAS LED NICARAGUA INTO FURTHER STRIFE WITH ITS NEIGHBORS TO THE NORTH AND SOUTH.

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AS PRESIDENT REAGAN NOTED, THE PROPER STARTING POINT FOR REVERSING THIS PROCESS WOULD BE FOR THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS TO ENGAGE IN A GENUINE DIALOGUE WITH THE WARRING PARTIES. IN THE CASE OF NICARAGUA THAT WOULD MEAN THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF NICARAGUA SHOULD ENGAGE THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION FORCES IN NEGOTIATIONS, WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF INTERNAL RECONCILIATION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A PLURALISTIC REORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY.

ONCE SUCH NEGOTIATIONS ARE HELD AND ASSUMING THEY RESULT IN REAL PROGRESS, THE UNITED STATES WOULD SIT DOWN WITH THE SOVIET UNION TO DISCUSS HOW WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO SUPPORT THE ONGOING TALKS. FOLLOWING VERIFICATION OF THE ELIMINATION OF THE FOREIGN MILITARY PRESENCE AND RESTRICTION OF THE ARMS FLOW, WE WOULD WELCOME A PLURALISTIC AND PEACEFUL NICARAGUA BACK INTO THE WORLD ECONOMY. THE PRESIDENT MADE CLEAR THAT WE WOULD "RESPOND GENEROUSLY" TO THIS DEMOCRATIC RECONCILIATION AND RESTORATION OF RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

I WOULD HOPE THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WILL GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO THIS PROPOSAL, INCLUDING ITS REFERENCE TO THE SITUATION IN NICARAGUA, WHICH WOULD COMPLEMENT PRESENT EFFORTS TO RESTORE PEACE, DEMOCRACY, NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND A PLURALISTIC FORM OF SOCIETY TO THE REGION.

I WOULD LIKE TO REMIND YOU THAT WE LIVE IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD AND WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO STAND BY AND WATCH THE FORCIBLE

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*What are  
Cuba?*

SPREAD OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND THE INTRODUCTION OF SOVIET MILITARY POWER TO OUR DOORSTEP. WHEN I SAY WE ARE NOT PREPARED MERELY TO WATCH DEVELOPMENTS, I MIGHT RECALL FOR YOU THE STATEMENT OF PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT SOME FORTY-FIVE YEARS AGO WHEN, IN THE MIDST OF ANOTHER CRITICAL SITUATION INVOLVING THE UNITED STATES AND ITS EMBATTLED ALLIES, HE TOLD THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT HE DID NOT INTEND TO "STAND IDLY BY" AS HIS NEIGHBOR'S HOUSE WAS BURNED.

*You are*  
~~WE KNOW WHO IS~~ PLAYING WITH MATCHES AROUND OUR NEIGHBOR'S HOUSE TODAY. AND WE DO NOT INTEND TO "STAND IDLY" BY WHILE THIS RECKLESS ACTIVITY TAKES PLACE. WE ARE ENGAGED IN PUTTING OUT THE BLAZE AND WE SHALL NOT BACK OFF. THOSE WHO ARE NOW PLAYING WITH MATCHES STAND A VERY STRONG CHANCE OF BEING BURNED, PERHAPS BADLY BURNED, DEPENDING ON THE SIZE OF THE CONFLAGRATION WHICH THEY KINDLE. SPEECHES, TRICKS AND TELEVISION APPEARANCES WILL NOT DECEIVE US. WE ARE WATCHING WHAT THEY ARE REALLY DOING TO PUT IT VERY SUCCINCTLY, WE ARE DETERMINED TO WIN ANY STRUGGLE AFFECTING OUR VITAL INTERESTS.

I THINK THAT YOU ALREADY KNOW AND UNDERSTAND THAT. FOR THIS REASON, FRANKLY, I AM PERPLEXED BY THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION AS IT AFFECTS THIS REGION. KNOWING THAT WE WILL NOT ALLOW THIS TO HAPPEN, WHY DO YOU LET THE PYROMANIACS CONTINUE? WHY DO YOU HELP THEM TO MAKE THE ULTIMATE OUTCOME SO DEVASTATING? SUCH AN OUTCOME WOULD BODE ILL FOR THIS REGION OF THE WORLD. IT WOULD ALSO AUGUR BADLY FOR THE FUTURE OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS.

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IN CONCLUDING LET ME USE A DIFFERENT METAPHOR: THE SOVIET UNION IS LIKE A GAMBLER CARELESSLY BIDDING UP THE STAKES IN A GAME WHICH HE KNOWS HE IS BOUND TO LOSE. IF HE WINS ONE THROW OF THE DICE, HIS INVESTMENT GOES UP, BUT THE FINAL OUTCOME WILL BE NO DIFFERENT. THE GREATER THE RISK, THE GREATER THE LOSS. THAT IS WHAT IS DOWN THE ROAD FOR YOU IF YOU FOLLOW YOUR PRESENT COURSE TO ITS LOGICAL CONCLUSION.

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